South Africa's Crises—*an Editorial*

THE *Nation*

March 29, 1952

Pat McCarran's Iron Curtain

Exposing the New Immigration Bill

BY ALEX. BROOKS

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British Television

BY ANDREW ROTH

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Will the South Bolt?

BY ROBERT E. WILLIAMS

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AROUND THE U. S. A.

America Plus, Inc.

San Francisco

A NEW outfit called America Plus, Inc., is sponsoring a "Freedom of Choice" initiative measure to amend California's constitution. Solicitors are collecting dimes to defray the cost of getting 305,000 signatures before June 6 to qualify the measure for the November, 1952, ballot. Sponsors of the amendment firmly believe that they have found a gimmick by which it may be possible to annul the gains achieved in the past decade through civil-rights and fair-practices legislation.

The amendment implies that any civil-rights legislation prohibiting discrimination is "unreasonable." It purports to give owners of private property "freedom" to choose their neighbors, and business men freedom to choose their employees and customers. In a word, it would legalize almost any type of discrimination against just about any class of persons.

From the background of the sponsors, one can safely infer that should this measure be adopted only right-wing, isolationist Americans of indisputable Anglo-American antecedents would be immune to discrimination. The honorary national chairman of America Plus is State Senator Jack B. Tenney of Los Angeles County. Tenney, who also heads Americans for MacArthur, recently had to defend America Plus against the charge of anti-Semitism. His defense was simply that it is "pro-American." Tenney's conception of Americanism is indicated by his admiration for McCarthyism, which, according to him, "is beginning to mean courage and patriotism against overwhelming odds."

Once a leading left-wing Democrat, Tenney is now a staunch Republican. He served as chairman of the legislature's committee on un-American activities until lobbyist Artie Samish—a credit to Artie for this one—managed to have him removed from the committee. To Tenney's work on the committee, however, Californians are indebted for the list of "subversive" organizations which recently figured in the Lieutenant Governor's denunciation of the state Superintendent of Education, also a registered Republican, as a dupe of socialism. Arguing that a series of textbooks chosen by a state-wide commission for use in the public schools showed a leftist coloration, Tenney successfully opposed their adoption. The books were later used by the United States navy. To date Tenney has not chosen to attack the navy, but he denounced the United Nations as an "international monstrosity." He is now a candidate for Congress in the Twenty-second Congressional District of California.

Whether persons belonging to labor unions might escape discrimination under the amendment is still uncertain, as the final draft has not been prepared. Meanwhile, a brochure put out by America Plus declares that it gives business men the right to refuse employment to any person but that this right can be restricted by contract. It is possible that the final draft of the act will so expand the employer's "freedom of choice" as to invalidate union-shop clauses in collective-bargaining agreements.

Everyone with a bona fide signature and a dime is being encouraged to sign the petitions. The America Plus brochure appears to argue that a Negro, for instance, or a Jew, might find it to his interest to sign if he happens to operate a hotel, bar, skating rink, or other private business, since he would be able, under the amendment, to refuse service to any class of persons he desired, say, to whites or Gentiles. As a property-owner, he could even contract with his neighbors to keep old-line Anglo-Saxon, white Protestants in another part of town.

On the eve of the Republican and Democratic nominating conventions America Plus plans to hold a "Continental Congress" and then to ask both conventions to concur in resolutions adopted there. In this manner it hopes to launch a national movement to quash all anti-discrimination laws—local, state, and federal. At the least, it believes, the America Plus resolutions might lessen Governor Warren's chance of winning the Republican nomination. Tenney, it should be noted, has sided with a curious Republican splinter group that is trying its best to break Warren, even at the risk of splitting the Republican Party in California. He was one of the speakers at a "hate Warren" dinner of California Republicans held in Los Angeles last November.

The America Plus movement, with its pro-MacArthur, hate-Warren overtones, is supported by the Wage-Earners' Committee of Los Angeles. There seems also to be some "oil money" behind it. Indeed, the movement may turn out to be a simple front for a "stop Warren" delegation. Governor Warren has some powerful Republican enemies these days in California, including John Francis Neylan and L. M. Giannini (Bank of America), both of whom are bitter about his opposition to the regents' loyalty oath at the University of California. At the same time, of course, America Plus hopes to gain some support from the Dixiecrats at the Democratic convention, thereby sharpening the dilemma which the Democrats face on civil-rights matters.

Meanwhile, even California's leading universities—Stanford, California, and Santa Clara—are giving Tenney's amendment serious consideration. Faculty-sponsored teams from these and seven other colleges and universities in the state are debating its adoption.

The ultimate objectives of America Plus include amendment of the federal Bill of Rights and withdrawal of the United States from the United Nations. California is only the testing ground for its ideas. If "freedom of choice" succeeds here, the movement will spread into other states. Aldrich Blake, one of its organizers, has been raising funds in Oklahoma and Texas and hopes soon to open headquarters in Tulsa.

America Plus is the same old poison in a bright new package. Spare a dime for a cup of hemlock, buddy?

C. W. PARKER

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THE Nation

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The Shape of Things

RUSSIA'S LATEST PROPOSAL ON GERMANY appears more serious with every day that passes. Fear is seeping through the Atlantic community that this time Moscow is not bluffing but calling our bluff, forcing us either to stand by our commitment to a united, democratically established Germany or openly to renounce it. The caution displayed by the Western nations in preparing an answer to the Soviet note reveals their awareness of the dilemma in which they seem to be caught. No matter what they say—their reply has not been finally approved as this issue goes to press—they can hardly do more than temporize. They may insist that before they consider Russia's terms, the United Nations Commission now attempting to find out whether the conditions for free elections exist must be allowed to pursue its inquiry in East Germany. They may try to argue that the day of national armies is passed and that German forces can "safely" be allowed only as part of the army of the Western alliance. But these devices make sense only if the Moscow proposal is not genuine. If Moscow is really prepared to pay the price it has offered to keep West Germany out of the Atlantic alliance, the West will have to raise the Russian bid or watch Adenauer go down to defeat along with his pro-Allied policy.

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JUST AS THE WESTERN NATIONS AGREED, under American pressure, to arm the Germans in order to contain Russian strength, so Moscow is prepared to arm them in order to contain the Atlantic alliance. The risks must have been carefully calculated in advance. If Moscow's plan prevails, Germany will soon be the strongest European power this side of the Soviet frontier, and the fate of the Continent will depend on which way that power leans. The Kremlin may believe it can make a deal with a restored German state, a new Rapallo; but it may be satisfied for the present merely to deprive the Atlantic community of the core of its armed strength, and, relying on the complementary nature of Russian and German interests, to draw the two powers together in the future. Whatever the Kremlin's calculations, its offer to negotiate a general peace treaty with a unified sovereign Germany, assured in advance of a national defense force and a revived arms industry, with no restrictions placed on the use of Nazi officers and servicemen, has sent a chill through Europe. Even the satellite states show signs of fright, as indeed they should. For a rearmed German nation is a nightmare which cannot be exorcised by any formula of "neutralization." Russia's move is as dangerous as it is bold and shrewd, with possible consequences too far-reaching even to be guessed at today.

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"UNLESS VIGOROUS PROTEST IS MADE . . . Congress is likely soon to pass a bill on immigration, naturalization, and nationality which has in it elements that are both obnoxious and dangerous." That is what *The Nation* said editorially last July 21 of the McCarran omnibus immigration measure. Since that time the bill and its House equivalent, the Walter bill, have been subjected to certain changes. But on the basis of the analysis of the two bills in their present form which appears on page 299 of this issue, we see no reason to alter our original opinion. The bills are still racist in concept, destructive of civil rights, and in general cut closer to the measure of a police state than to American democracy. The Walter bill may come up for debate on the floor of the House some time next week. Like its Senate equivalent, it is an extremely long and complicated measure whose terms are little known to any but a handful of House members. Certain alternative proposals—the Humphrey-Lehman bill in the Senate and the Roosevelt bill in the House—have never had hearings. *The Nation* urges its readers to wire their Representatives at once asking them to vote for recommittal of the Walter bill, thus assuring its reconsideration in the light of an informed public opinion and of the alternatives put forward by Roosevelt in the House and Humphrey and Lehman in the Senate.

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THE AIR FORCE HAS ANNOUNCED THAT IT will not renew the six-month contract given to Dr. Walter P. Schreiber, commander of the Military Medical Academy under Hitler, who has been on the staff of the Aviation School of Medicine at San Antonio, Texas. On the basis of his Nazi record and involvement in war crimes, the Boston chapter of the Physician's Forum had protested his presence here. News reports indicate that Dr. Schreiber is now insisting on a public hearing before, presumably, he is sent back to Germany. We think Dr. Schreiber should be granted his re-

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quest. It would be instructive to hear from him how Nazi medical science, under his supervision and with his collaboration, degenerated to the inhuman butchering of thousands of concentration-camp inmates in the name of "experimental research." It would be even more instructive to learn from him the identity of the person or persons responsible for inviting him here in the first place. A second public hearing would then be in order.

*

AS WAS ANTICIPATED BY *THE NATION* IN ITS issue of March 15 the Feinberg law has now been invoked by its intended victims. Arguing that under the law only the state Board of Regents, and not the Superintendent of Schools in New York City, can prosecute their clients, attorneys for eight teachers facing departmental trials won a stay last week from Lewis A. Wilson, Commissioner of Education. In the end the courts will have to decide the issue. But in the meantime—to quote Rose Russell of the Teachers' Union—"it is truly ironic that the teachers should have to look to the Feinberg law for protection." True enough. Up to the very moment that the Supreme Court upheld its constitutionality, the teachers—were arguing—and continue to argue today—that it is a vicious law which violates the Bill of Rights and whose only practical effect can be to put teachers into mental strait-jackets and to turn children into FBI spies. Nevertheless, the Feinberg law does preserve some modicum of protection for persons and organizations charged under its provisions. No organization can be listed as subversive, for instance, except after proper hearing; individuals are entitled to an open hearing and have the right of review in the courts. The safeguards are absent from the procedures being followed by Superintendent Jansen of New York City's school system, which have already resulted in suspension of teachers without fair hearings. The Feinberg law, bad as it is, is the teacher's only recourse at the present time.

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SENATOR McCARTHY'S FOOTWORK MUST BE the envy of the entire lightweight division. When the press attacks him, he appeals to the advertisers. When a Senate subcommittee attacks him, he appeals to the press. When a fellow-Senator attacks him, he appeals to television. The only thing he never does is stand and fight his attacker. He has, at the moment, two admirable opportunities to do so. Seven months ago Senator Benton submitted 30,000 words of documented charges against McCarthy before the Senate subcommittee on privileges and elections. Last week Benton, in a stirring floor speech ably supported by Senator Lehman, declared: "I herewith offer unequivocally to waive any immunity which I may enjoy under the Constitution or under the Senate rules if any question of my personal

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legal responsibility is ever raised." In other words, he waived Congressional immunity and challenged McCarthy to take him to court. This is one fight the Senator from Wisconsin can take on. The other is the challenge issued by the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration, which has asked the Wisconsin Senator to repeat to the Senate as a formal motion of censure what he had already told the press—that is, that the subcommittee on privileges and elections is biased and prejudiced. McCarthy will take up neither challenge. This is as certain as the fact that the Senator from Wisconsin will run for reelection in November.

Spotlight on Wisconsin

THE strong showing made by General Eisenhower in the New Hampshire and Minnesota primaries has clarified the fight for the Republican nomination by greatly reducing the margins of error. There was nothing surprising about the returns—the polls indicated which way the wind was blowing—but the political effect of reasonable anticipation is very different from that of proved fact. Eisenhower's remarkable popularity is no longer a matter of conjecture; it has been confirmed in the only way that carries real conviction to politicians—by votes cast. Even the General's backers were so reluctant to take his popularity for granted that they permitted Harold Stassen to bluff them out of Minnesota's delegates on the basis of three or four meetings at which Stassen drew fairly large crowds. But now a chain-reaction has been set in motion: Taft has withdrawn from the New Jersey primary—a damaging admission of weakness—and a long line has suddenly formed for the Eisenhower bandwagon.

The spotlight, of course, now shifts to Wisconsin. Should Taft fail to win by an impressive margin in the April 1 primary, he might just as well concede the nomination to Eisenhower. Although it has been clear from the outset that Governor Earl Warren is a stand-in for Eisenhower in Wisconsin, the pro-Eisenhower elements who organized the Warren delegation are abandoning the pretense that Warren is a candidate in his own right. It is difficult, of course, for one man to campaign as the proxy for another, but in the special circumstances which prevail in Wisconsin there is reason to believe that it can be done successfully. The pro-Eisenhower forces have sufficient time to establish the fact, by meetings, radio, and the press, that a vote for Earl is a vote for Ike. Besides, Governor Warren is an ideal stand-in candidate. He is discreet, cautious, reasonably affable, and he likes to affect a self-effacing manner. He will not kick over any traces or commit any indiscretions. He will also draw some votes in his own right, for he has made a good impression in Wisconsin, where his matter-of-fact style of campaigning underscores the old-fashioned shrillness and absurdity of Taft's table-thumping tactics. Warren is not the usual "stalking horse" candidate in any case, for what he lacks in glamour he more than offsets by his possession of real political riches. Wisconsin is quite a distance from Sacramento, but Wisconsin voters are not likely to overlook the fact that Warren has one of the largest state delegations in his vest pocket.

As the Eisenhower sun moves to the zenith, the crisis in the Democratic Party will rapidly deepen. It is already apparent that the President and his top party advisers have lost command of the situation. Mr. Truman made the mistake of thinking that he could hold delegations without becoming a candidate for reelection. The device of using popular pro-Truman "favorite sons" to control key delegations might have worked had it not been for Senator Kefauver's brashness in insisting that he was not only Tennessee's favorite son but every other state's favorite son as well. When he entered the New Hampshire primary, a state which lacked a strong favorite-son candidate, the fat was in the fire. The President was then forced to reverse his position and did so in a belated and awkward manner. The write-in vote for Kefauver in Minnesota—where he had expressly withdrawn from the race—is an even stronger indication of the dissatisfaction with Truman's leadership than the heavy vote for Eisenhower. The President may be surrounded by sycophants and yes-men, but he still has access to the election returns, and the returns from the primaries in New Hampshire and Minnesota can hardly have encouraged him to seek reelection.

The more apparent it becomes that Truman will not run the more difficult it will be for him to steer the Democratic convention. It is always hard for an outgoing President to dominate his party on the eve of a convention; it becomes doubly so when, as now appears to be the case, the President permits the situation to get out of hand. At the same time, as the Eisenhower boom grows, the likelihood diminishes that Governor Adlai Stevenson will want to try for the nomination. Both on the West Coast and in New England, moreover, it is already somewhat late to launch a strong campaign for Governor Stevenson. In fact, the greater Eisenhower's chances for the Republican nomination, the more fluid the Democratic situation becomes, especially since few clear-cut tests seem to be shaping up in the remaining primaries. Thus the curtain may well rise on a Democratic convention without any strong grouping of delegations having been formed to fill the vacuum—an ideal situation for the emergence of a dark horse.

On the other hand, tensions in the Taft-McCarthy-MacArthur wing of the Republican Party will also be increased as the Eisenhower stock goes up. Given the degree of paranoia that exists in this quarter, it is reasonable to anticipate an outbreak of self-destructive violence

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in the form of wild charges, denunciations, and a reckless use of smear tactics that will only further isolate Taft. The difficulty that the Taft-McCarthy-MacArthur elements face is that they have been outmaneuvered. Eisenhower enjoys the advantage of being billed as the candidate of the "liberal" wing of the Republican Party when in fact he is probably also the candidate of the solid right wing—as distinguished from the diminishing "isolationist" right wing. The forces that Taft heads constitute not so much a "wing" of the party these days as a formation of lost battalions trying to fight their way back, with much bombastic rhetoric, to the safety of Fort William McKinley. Now that the Eisenhower movement has outflanked these battalions, the time has come for a hard drive at the center of the line. Wisconsin is the battleground for this drive. Should Taft's line fail to hold there, it will only remain for General Eisenhower to take charge of the final mopping-up operations. The time for his return would seem to be shortly after the Wisconsin primary. New Hampshire and Minnesota were recruiting campaigns; Wisconsin is the scene of the first major engagement. It may prove, also, to be the last.

South Africa's Crises

IN THE midst of celebrations of "three hundred years of progress," South Africa finds itself plunged into a grave constitutional crisis and, what is more serious, facing on April 6 the opening of a movement of civil disobedience by its oppressed native population. For both situations the Nationalist government headed by Dr. Daniel F. Malan, which took office in 1948, is squarely responsible. In accordance with its policy of *Apartheid* (separation), it has passed a series of measures discriminating against the non-European elements of the community—Negro, colored, and Asiatic—and taking from them their already limited political, social, and economic rights.

One of these measures, the Separate Registration of Voters Act, which removes colored (half-caste) voters in the Cape province from the common electoral roll, has been found unconstitutional by the Supreme Court because it was passed by a bare majority of both houses of Parliament instead of by a two-thirds' vote of a combined session, as the constitution requires. Infuriated by this ruling, Dr. Malan has declared that the government will move to prevent the courts from passing on the validity of legislation, a threat that if carried into effect would be a long step toward the dictatorship which his opponents assert is his final aim.

It is doubtful, however, if the Nationalists are yet in a position to take so drastic a step. They have gone a considerable way toward purging the army of "unreliable" elements and have begun to build up a party auxiliary force, the *Skietcommando,* modeled on Hitler's S. A. and S. S. But their high-handed methods have aroused opposition among Europeans as well as natives. Last year a former R. A. F. officer, Adolph G. Malan, a distant cousin of the Premier's, founded the Torch Commando with the express object of rallying anti-Nationalist sentiment. Joined by thousands of veterans, this has rapidly become a formidable organization and one that would probably present a serious obstacle to a government coup.

The Torch Commando, which seems to have put new life into the lethargic official opposition, the South African Party, should also serve to check the Nationalists if Malan decides to fortify himself in a contest with the courts by seeking a new mandate. At the last general election the Nationalists failed to obtain a majority of the popular vote; their narrow victory was due to over-representation of the rural areas where they have their greatest strength. There is little reason to suppose they would do better now, and they might very well lose the narrow margin of seats by which they control Parliament. Thus Malan appears to be at the end of his political tether unless he can create a situation which will enable him to seize the role of indispensable savior of the white race. April 6 may offer him the opportunity.

Last December the African National Congress, the largest and most representative native group in South Africa, decided that the time had come for action against the *Apartheid* program, which was condemning their people to perpetual helotry. It called, therefore, for immediate repeal of the discriminatory laws and, failing satisfaction, determined to launch on April 6 a campaign of mass civil disobedience. Malan's only reply was a warning that any disorders would be "dealt with."

While the African leaders hope to restrict their followers to passive resistance—they cannot hope to challenge the guns and tanks of the whites—they know that the result of their action will probably be bloody massacre. When it comes to native demonstrations, South African police are quick on the trigger, and the history of that unhappy land is full of tales of unarmed, orderly groups of natives shot down just because they had gathered to protest against some injustice. Usually that has been the end of the "incident," but this time, if the whites begin shooting, they may provoke a despairing revolt from one end of the country to the other.

That in turn would create a hysteria of fear in the white population, which is outnumbered by the non-white elements four or five to one, and give Malan a chance to proclaim martial law and swoop down on his enemies of all races. But it would also reveal to the world the rotten foundations of white supremacy in South Africa. Such bloody publicity, many natives have come to believe, is essential if they are ultimately to regain their freedom.

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Fair Offer on Steel

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington

WITH long faces and the usual wailing about poverty, the powerful steel companies last weekend faced the crucial decision of whether or not to force a strike by the United Steelworkers in order to compel the government to authorize price increases covering —or more than covering—the entire wage-increase "package" recommended by the Wage Stabilization Board.

Nathan P. Feinsinger, W. S. B. chairman, correctly described the proposed settlement as a "darn good" one. It was good not only because it was acceptable to the union but also because the board had skilfully avoided two dangerous possibilities. It set no formal pattern for annual "productivity" wage increases—based on the assumption that output per man hour has risen—and declined to make a formal decision that would have caused January, 1951, to be dropped as the month from which to calculate cost-of-living increases.

The wage settlement was hastily publicized as proposing a 17½-cent hourly wage increase plus "fringe" benefits variously calculated as equivalent to from 5.1 cents to 9 cents an hour. Actually the recommended basic increase was less than 17½ cents. Spread across the entire year and a half of the proposed contract period, from January 1, 1952, to June 30, 1953, the flat wage increase averages 15 cents an hour. It begins with 12½ cents, retroactive to January, adds 2½ cents on July 1, and adds another 2½ cents on January 1, 1953.

In return for this the union accepted the W. S. B. recommendation of a no-strike contract lasting for eighteen months—six months longer than is customary. It waived in advance any claim for increases following future rises in living costs and did not insist on productivity increases comparable to those in United Automobile Workers' contracts, in which 4 cents is added annually to the basic wage scale. Both these demands are swallowed up in the July and January 2½-cent increases, which average out to 3.75 cents an hour for the year beginning July 1—less than the U. A. W. members get in productivity increases alone. Industry members who filed angry dissents to the proposals of the labor and public members of the W. S. B. carefully avoided dealing with the fact that the United Steelworkers might have been entitled to considerably more money had the public members accepted a different formula.

The last "free" contract negotiated by the union and the steel companies was signed in October, 1950. In the next few months there was a terrific spurt in living costs. By W. S. B. figures the men were entitled to 9 cents more an hour to match the rise in consumer prices from January, 1951, to January, 1952. The union would have won an additional 8 cents—a total of 17 cents—had the board reverted to the October, 1950, contract date instead of keeping the January, 1951, base period. It got only 12½ cents effective at once, and part of that may be spread around, through collective bargaining, to meet union demands for larger shift and grade differentials.

Industry spokesmen have for months been using every available forum to announce that they could not afford a penny more in higher costs and to warn that "another round" of wage increases would be followed inevitably by price rises spreading through the entire economy and starting another spiral of inflation. Not until last week did industry members of the Wage Board finally agree that they might tolerate a total wage rise of 13.7 cents an hour. There was danger, in fact, that practically all standards of wage stabilization might be wrecked in the steel controversy. If the Wage Board had granted a full 17-cent basic cost-of-living increase and in addition had felt compelled to grant "productivity" increases, hundreds of other unions would have demanded the same benefits.

On the subsidiary issues there is a hollow sound to the industry's outcry about "fringe" raises won by the union and about the W. S. B.'s recommendation of a union shop. Most of the fringe increases are awarded in the form of six paid holidays a year. Does the steel industry hope to maintain forever a substandard contract under which workers get no paid holidays? Thousands of contracts in other industries now provide for them; the steel companies have simply been behind the parade.

The companies make a tremendous uproar about the government "dictating" the union shop. Why should the government have to "dictate" it? The union shop is established practice in American industry. The theory that workers should not be forced to become union members can be effectively reversed: the majority that want a union shop should not be forced to work side by side with others who take all the benefits the union wins but refuse to bear their share of the union's expenses or help decide its policies. The argument disappears in any case in view of the fact that the steel companies already have closed-shop contracts with unions other than the United Steelworkers—with coal miners and railroad workers, with building-trades workers and other employees.

THE issue now is prices. Ellis Arnall, Economic Stabilization Director, has testified that the steel companies are entitled to one price rise based on the Capehart amendment—to compensate for all higher costs experienced through July, 1951—and possibly to another if it can be shown that higher wages impose an inequity. Every industry has a right to prices that bring profits up to 85 per cent of earnings in three of the four years of the 1946-49 base period. Twice in the post-war years the steel companies have refused to raise wages until promised price rises. The Office of Price Stabilization has sta-

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tistics indicating that steel earnings are high enough to bear a substantial increase in costs without higher prices.

There will be no steel strike—not even a short one—if the companies accept the W. S. B. proposals. The union has repeatedly postponed strike action to give the board a chance to complete its complex calculations and negotiations. Honest bargaining on issues left unsettled by the board and a willingness by the companies to work out price problems through processes already available under the Defense Production Act would make a work stoppage in the basic steel industry completely unnecessary.

Will the South Bolt?

BY ROBERT E. WILLIAMS

Raleigh, North Carolina

IN CHOOSING Senator Richard B. Russell of Georgia as their standard bearer the leaders of the "Stop Truman and Trumanism" movement in the South undoubtedly made the best possible selection for accomplishing their purposes in the Democratic National Convention. Whether Senator Russell will also serve their ends after the convention is a different question. But by accepting his leadership the original "rebels" have to a large extent transferred from themselves to him the power of decision. Senator Russell's opinions and not those of Senator Byrd or Governor Byrnes or Governor Talmadge will be sought by the men trying to work out a platform that will prevent a split in the party. And in all probability Senator Russell will decide whether the revolt is to die with the convention or to be carried on by means of a splinter party. Certainly, it would be difficult for the anti-Truman movement to obtain popular support in the South without the aid of the man chosen to lead it.

Senator Russell

Russell's record and point of view—except on civil rights and states' rights—are very different from those of Harry F. Byrd, James F. Byrnes, or Herman Talmadge. Russell does not show Byrd's ultra-conservatism, Byrnes's personal antagonism to President Truman, or Talmadge's demagoguery. But he has a larger following than these men or anyone associated with them, and circumstances made them need his leadership. It was obtained only after considerable pressure had been exerted in his home state.

The circumstances which confronted the leaders of the revolt were President Truman's refusal to say whether or not he would be a candidate and the uncertainty as to the Republicans' choice. Their primary objective is the defeat of President Truman, and they want that defeat to be utter and complete. They want not only to prevent the election of Truman but also to make certain that nobody who is backed by Truman or who supports the Roosevelt or Truman programs becomes President.

It is not remotely probable that the rebels will get all they want at the Democratic National Convention, or even that they will get enough to satisfy them. Senator Russell will undoubtedly be more easily satisfied. The risk of choosing a leader who might not go all the way with them had to be taken in order to obtain a standard bearer certain to make a better showing at the convention than they themselves could hope to make.

Senator Russell's qualifications were clearly revealed at the 1948 convention. The 1948 revolt was headed by a weaker set of men than is the present movement. Ben T. Laney, then Governor of Arkansas, was considered the strongest of the lot and was chosen as the candidate to present to the convention, but it soon became apparent that he could not command anything approaching a solid Southern front. At the last minute Senator Russell, who had previously stood aloof but had been disgruntled by the adoption of a strong civil-rights plank, was induced to let his name go before the convention.

Most of the South rallied behind Truman. Nowhere was his strength demonstrated more plainly than in the North Carolina delegation, which contained more pro-Truman members than any other from the South. When the delegation was elected, it was expected that all but one or two of its thirty-two votes would be cast for Truman, and the expectation held until Russell entered the field. The Senator's friendships with the delegates, plus the feeling engendered by the platform fight, so changed matters that Truman got only fourteen of the thirty-two votes, the remaining eighteen going to Russell.

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Russell is stronger now than he was in 1948. His leadership is more widely accepted in the Senate, and his reputation throughout the country was enhanced by his handling of the MacArthur investigation.

What course will he follow in the convention and afterward? And will his course be satisfactory to those who induced him to enter the race? No one can answer those questions categorically. Senator Russell himself does not pretend to be able to do so. He has declined to speculate on whether he will lead or join a splinter-party movement, but he always takes pains to remind his questioners that he did not bolt in 1948, although tremendous efforts were made to get him to do so. That reminder is important, but not necessarily controlling. If the present and future can be judged by the past, Senator Russell's course in the convention is reasonably certain. He will oppose the renomination of President Truman to the last roll call. If President Truman is not a candidate and Russell cannot obtain the nomination for himself—he has no illusions about his chances—he will exercise his judgment as to other candidates. He has recently opened headquarters in Washington and launched a national campaign for convention votes.

Russell supported the so-called court-packing bill in 1937 and has been more consistently pro-Administration than any other Southern Senator except Kefauver, Hill, and Sparkman. But he shares the views of the most rabid Southerners on some phases of civil rights and states' rights. Even on those questions, however, he is more amenable to compromise than many others on his own and the other side. His state abolished the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting some years ago and is the only state in the Union permitting eighteen-year-olds to vote. But he is quick to resent anything he construes as an affront to the South. On his record Senator Russell may be expected to go into the convention in good faith, and to accept its verdict unless he feels that the South has been treated unfairly. On that point he is less sensitive than some of his colleagues but by no means free from emotion.

The Southern revolt has become more respectable and more responsible by its acquisition of Senator Russell as leader. If he should refuse to carry on after the convention, the movement would lose much of its impetus. Its eventual course will depend to a considerable extent on the action of the Republican convention. The Southerners who would like to see Senator Taft the next President concede that they could not carry the South for him, even if they supported him openly and President Truman were his opponent.

There is little danger that Senator Russell will head a third party merely to serve as a stalking horse for the Republicans. In the alignments resulting from the struggle over civil-rights legislation, his defections from the position taken by the majority of his party have been more numerous in recent years than during the New Deal or the early part of the Fair Deal. Even so, an analysis by the *Congressional Quarterly* shows that in 1951 Russell voted with the Democratic majority in 80 per cent of the forty-eight contests in which this majority was defeated by a Republican-Democratic coalition. This 80 per cent compares with 3 per cent for Senator Byrd and 68 per cent for Democratic Senators from all sections of the country.

By choosing such a man to lead them the anti-Truman Southern Democrats have greatly increased their strength for the time being. In the long run they may have lost more than they have gained.

North Dakota Showdown

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

Fargo, North Dakota

A SHOWDOWN fight in North Dakota, long in the making, will this year determine not only who controls the Republican Party in the state but the future pattern of North Dakota politics. The Republican Organizing Committee, meeting in Bismarck, has decided to run Representative Fred G. Aandahl against Senator William Langer for the Republican Senatorial nomination. For weeks the committee has been debating whether to risk losing a Republican seat in Congress—and with it Aandahl's influence as a member of the House Appropriations Committee—or suffer the humiliation of seeing its arch-enemy, Langer, returned to the Senate without substantial opposition. The delegates to the recent state convention finally decided that now was the time to deal with Langer.

The fight shaping up between Aandahl and Langer has a personal as well as strictly political basis. The feud between the two men dates from 1932, when Langer, who had just been elected governor with Non-Partisan League backing, launched a successful recall campaign against Aandahl, then a member of the state Senate. Aandahl returned to the state Senate in 1939 and later played a prominent role in the formation of the Republican Organizing Committee, which was set up in 1943-44 as a means of unseating Langer and of removing the taint of N. P. L. radicalism from the Republican Party in North Dakota. Aandahl was the committee's first candi-

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date for governor. He was elected in 1944 and served two additional terms; he is now finishing his first term in Congress. He is a well-liked, able, conservative Republican, who has announced that he favors the nomination of Senator Taft, as do probably most of the Organizing Committee. Aandahl is certainly the strongest candidate who could be entered against Langer and is conceded to have a fifty-fifty chance of winning the Republican nomination.

FOR the first time in its brief history the R. O. C. this year will be presenting a "united front" of candidates against its Non-Partisan League rivals. The same convention that decided to back Aandahl for the Senate indorsed A. R. Bergesen of Fargo and Otto Krueger of Bismarck for the two Congressional seats. In the past the R. O. C. has sought to create disaffection in the ranks of the N. P. L. by indorsing at least one of its nominees for Congress. But this year Aandahl, Bergesen, and Krueger will campaign as a one-for-all and all-for-one trio. They are out to defeat not only Langer but the veteran N. P. L. Congressman, Usher Burdick. For the first time, also, the R. O. C. now has state-wide strength. At a recent state convention delegates showed up from counties which have sent N. P. L. candidates to the state legislature for the past thirty years.

Since North Dakota can almost certainly be counted on to be in the Republican column in this year's Presidential election—and by a big vote—it would seem that the R. O. C. might be able to defeat Langer and break up the N. P. L. as an influence in the Republican Party. But the entry of a strong candidate against Langer may have the effect of revitalizing the N. P. L. For the last twenty years the League has been largely dominated by Langer—to the annoyance of its younger members. A rift between these younger "insurgents," many of whom are members of the Farmers' Union, and the older pro-Langer elements has developed. But now that a serious threat has appeared in the form of the new R. O. C. "united front" of candidates, Langer can be expected to heal the breach and breathe new life into the organization. The Aandahl-Langer fight will certainly bring out a big vote.

Since the depression there has been a constant tug-of-war between the N. P. L. and the R. O. C. for control of the Republican Party. The division between these groups follows traditional, sectional, ethnic, and socio-economic lines. N. P. L. elements are concentrated in the western, arid part of the state; the R. O. C. supporters are found mainly in the more prosperous, humid Red River Valley. The N. P. L. is made up of descendants of the "hell-raising" radicals of former years; the R. O. C. of descendants of the Republican "stalwarts" of the same period. Many N. P. L. members are of Russian-German descent —the so-called Volga Germans; many of the R. O. C. adherents are of Norwegian descent. The former are largely Catholic, the latter Lutheran. N. P. L. farmers tend to belong to the Farmers' Union; R. O. C. farmers, to the Farm Bureau.

Traditionally the N. P. L. has always preferred to function within the framework of the Republican Party. This preference is hard to explain, for the average N. P. L. member is a strange misfit in the Republican camp. Logically the N. P. L. should have gone into the Democratic Party in the early period of the New Deal. Indeed, the younger Farmers' Union men in the League, under Quentin Burdick's leadership, tried to bring about such a realignment, which would have roughly paralleled the break-up of the Progressive Party in Wisconsin. But tradition was too strong; the older N. P. L.-ers still wanted to work within the Republican Party, probably because it was isolationist in foreign affairs. At present the N. P. L. and the R. O. C. are about equal in power; each holds about the same number of elective offices, state and federal. The Democratic Party remains a small patronage outfit controlled by Dave Kelly, the national committeeman.

North Dakota liberals have mixed feelings about Senator Langer. They remember with distaste his crude indulgence in patronage politics as governor. They feel that Langer is first and always for Langer. Though he quarreled personally with the late William Lemke, Langer is also associated with unpleasant memories of Gerald Nye and the attempt to inject anti-Semitism into North Dakota politics. Liberals are critical of Langer's position on most international issues. At the same time they agree that he has an admirable voting record on domestic issues and is passionately attentive to the wishes, problems, and whims of his constituents, regardless of their political affiliations. Langer is said to run one of the best "service" offices in Washington; if you want anything in Washington, just write Bill Langer. And proud parents of new-born North Dakota babies are made still more proud by the receipt of a personal congratulatory note from "Bill and Lydia" which invariably arrives before mother and baby have left the hospital.

Carl F. Kraenzel and the other social scientists who prepared that interesting report, "The Northern Plains in a World of Change," maintain that just as the people of the northern plains have long failed to recognize the distinctiveness of the region and its special problems, so the regional political thinking needs to be readjusted to new trends in national and international economic policy. Senator Langer is an example of this maladjustment: witness the incongruity between his views on foreign policy and on domestic issues. In the past North Dakota could indulge in this type of schizophrenic politics, but the maladjustments have created tensions which today are forcing a basic political realignment. This year's election will be an important step in the process.

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British TV: Low-Budget Highbrow

BY ANDREW ROTH

London

AMERICAN viewers frequently find British television less exciting but more rewarding than their own. The women announcers are attractive, well-dressed, and obviously cultured but seldom the voluptuous beauties who telecast in the United States and France. British TV censored the fast-moving American comedy "Apples in Eden," by Frances Agnew. The play was about a lawyer secretly married to a tennis star and still pursued by his former mistress. It had the top dramatic spot one Sunday, but before it was repeated, the TV controller decided to cut out the word "mistress," a scene showing the lady *en negligée,* and a silhouette of her in the shower. He admitted there had been few complaints, but he felt it wise to avoid the charge of bad taste.

On the other hand, political debate on this side of the Atlantic is much freer. The BBC has not recently televised any admitted Communist, but in its weekly round-table "In the News" it allows remarkably frank discussion of international and domestic issues. The chairman is frequently a Liberal, and usually a militant Conservative and a militant Laborite take part. Robert Boothby, M. P., is one of the regular Conservative speakers; Bevanites Michael Foot and Tom Driberg or the Socialist professor A. J. P. Taylor present the leftist view. Professor Taylor said recently that Britain had been exploiting the colonial territories for 150 years, which was long enough. That sort of thing draws a few indignant letters but nothing like the attacks directed against much milder statements in the United States.

Comparing British and American television is rather like comparing the well-bred, restrained daughter of a poor British vicar with the uninhibited family of an American millionaire. British television is calmer and more intellectually stimulating and is free from the annoyance of commercial advertising, but it lacks the variety, color, and richness of the American product.

TV in Britain, like radio, is the monopoly of the semi-governmental British Broadcasting Corporation. Its revenue comes chiefly from its share of the £2 ($5.60) sound-and-television license fee paid annually by viewers; some additional revenue is obtained from advertising in the BBC's *Radio Times.* About 150,000 viewers are "pirates" who pay no fee. Actual expenditures last year came to £1,718,578 (almost $5,000,000), which was roughly the amount paid by TV license holders.

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British TV, unable to make gigantic leaps forward by tapping the tills of private companies anxious to sell soap, can grow no more rapidly than its public grows. This growth is proceeding at the rate of 50,000 a month. With the average cost of a set between £65 and £75 (about $200)—which for the average viewer represents ten weeks' salary—sales do not mount too fast. When the tax on sets was doubled recently, sales were almost halved in many areas.

Although it has recently been overtaken by American television, the BBC has made steady progress since it first pioneered in this medium. Its experimental transmissions began in London in 1929. The first public service of high-definition television in the world was initiated by the BBC when Alexandra Palace went on the air in November, 1936. When service was suspended during the war, 20,000 receivers were in use.

On resuming service in June, 1946, British television was confronted with the problem of developing into a national institution while struggling with a limited budget and an audience impoverished by heavy taxation. By the middle of 1949 the London transmitter at Alexandra Palace served 150,000 television sets. This number was soon doubled by the opening of the first relay station near Birmingham. But not until last year did television become anything like mass entertainment. After the world's biggest transmitter was opened in October to serve Lancashire and Yorkshire, the additional 75,000 viewers thus obtained brought the total to over a million. When the Scottish and Welsh-West Country transmitters start operation, presumably before the end of 1952, 78 per cent of the country will be covered.

Britain is fully committed to a 405-line interlaced scanning system, which many American visitors find clearer than the 525-line system they know at home. (France uses 441 and 819 lines; Holland and most of the other European countries 625.) Britain and Europe in general use positive modulation, which requires maximum power for a dead-white picture; the United States uses negative modulation, maximum power for a black picture. Color television is relegated to the future by the need for an inexpensive method of converting transmitters and receivers. The BBC has said: "It is hoped that the radio industry will design and manufacture equipment which can be thoroughly studied and tested before any decision about a future color-television system for public service is made."

In the field of drama British TV is doing an outstanding job on its modest budget. It presents an average

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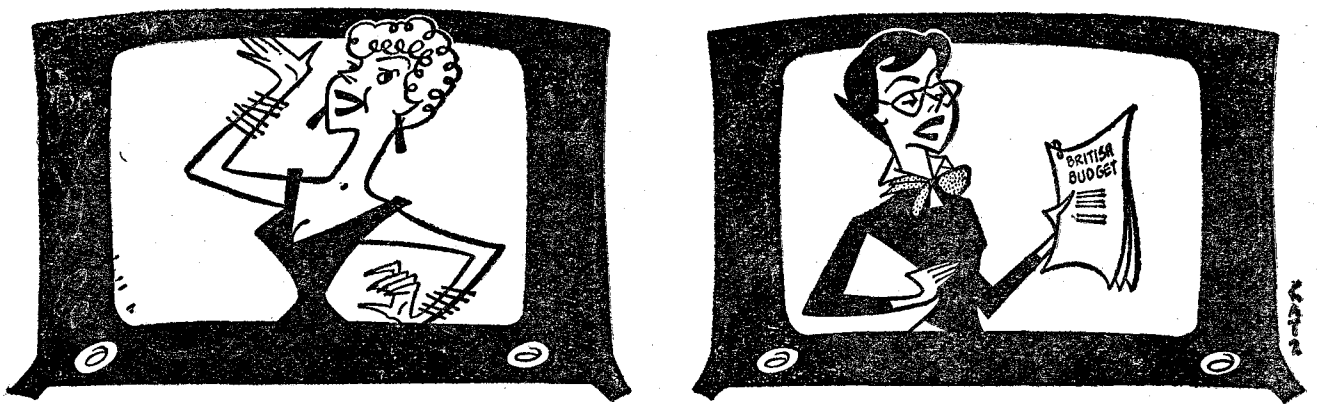

American vs. British TV: The Line Is Different

of two full-length dramas plus two one-acters a week. And full-length really means full-length. Several months ago Elmer Rice's "Counsellor-at-Law" was given in its original two-and-a-quarter-hour length, instead of in the fifty-seven-minute version to which it is usually tailored in the United States to fit into a sponsor's hour. Once every quarter a Shakespeare play is shown, also an opera. First-class modern drama by writers like Lillian Hellman, J. B. Priestley, and Bernard Shaw are mixed with some second-rate potboilers. The acting is usually competent and sometimes outstanding. There is talk now of earning dollars by selling telefilms of the shorter dramas to American television stations.

Television still shows a tendency to experiment in production techniques. One experiment which didn't come off was Lance Sieveking's "A Tomb with a View," which tried to establish a mood and a pace by inserting a number of still shots—infuriating much of the audience. There has also been considerable criticism of the recent production of Jacques Offenbach's operetta, "La Belle Hélène." This missed fire partly because it is hard to handle operetta on the small TV screen and partly because modern anachronisms were superimposed on an 1860 satiric version of a Greek story.

British TV dramatists, like others, are struggling with a medium combining the advantages and disadvantages of theater, movie, and radio. As Val Gielgud, head of the BBC's TV drama section, puts it: "The reaction of the film audience, which is numbered in hundreds, is quite different from the reaction of the television audience, which is divided into individuals or small groups. Therefore the 'target approach' of the producer must be proportionately different. The economic and 'facilities' conditions of film production cannot for an instant be compared with those conditioning television practice. A large-scale film budgets in terms of hundreds of thousands [of pounds]; a television production in terms of a couple of thousand at the outside—and this is exceptional."

British TV plays are indeed "low-budget" by American standards. It is estimated that some $300,000 is spent every week in New York for television plays; a comparable figure for British TV would be $10,000. In New York, of course, there are half a dozen programs to choose from; in Britain there is only one. But even so, British costs are reasonable—for the average play about £900 ($2,500). This includes two and one-half weeks of rehearsals but not the expensive overhead—cameras, technicians, and so on. An opera costs about £2,400 ($6,700), to produce, which is why only one is given every quarter.

ANOTHER outstanding accomplishment of British TV is its children's hour, usually scheduled from 5:30 to 6:30 p. m. Since there are no other television broadcasts until 8 p. m., children can lead the normal life of the pre-TV era. "Poverty has its compensations," was the comment of one visiting American parent. What British TV lacks in time for children, it makes up in quality. Thus in the week ending December 8 it gave them their own newsreel, three plays, a puppet show for the very young, a cowboy movie, and demonstrations of how to pick out a tune on the piano and how candy is made. The participation of the audience, which is estimated to number three million, is encouraged. Once children were asked to write the continuation of a serial, and 1,400 plays were submitted. An art competition brought 6,000 entries the first week. Next May experimental telecasts specially designed for schools will start.

For older viewers "Outside Broadcasts" open up a world far beyond their normal experience. About fifteen of these are televised a month, running the usual gamut of sports, festivals, ceremonies, and other major events. Coverage of the election was excellent. One of the things British TV does best is the documentary study of an industry or a social problem.

At least two British TV comics utilize the type of situation humor which Fred Allen feels is the best form of humor for television. But these two—Terry-Thomas and Eric Barker—do only a thirty-minute spot apiece every two weeks. Terry-Thomas has struck a rich vein of visual humor in his frantic impersonations; Eric Barker's amusing topical humor includes take-offs on other TV programs. Lack of a pool of competent

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comics and "gag-men"—and of the funds to pay them—rules out more shows of similar interest.

Many here are happy that TV cannot dominate life in Britain so completely as it does in the United States, but there are complaints. Thursdays, for example, are called "blank" because the Sunday play is repeated. Many who approve the BBC monopoly feel that there should be some choice of programs in TV as in sound radio, which offers the Home, Light, and Third programs. Others think TV should be completely divorced from sound broadcasting instead of staying under the BBC roof. Some defects could perhaps be cured by more financing, which could be obtained by raising separate TV license fees to, say, £2 a year.

There is surprisingly little call for a commercially sponsored TV. It has been suggested that advertisers might be allowed to sponsor shows during unused hours, but commercial sponsors seem little interested in heavy investments in "dead" hours. For twenty-five years every parliamentary commission has indorsed the present system. The *Times*, commenting on the subject, said: "The remedy for television, if it is bad, is to improve the BBC's conduct of it and not to undermine the foundations of British broadcasting."[*]

McCarran's Iron Curtain

BY ALEX. BROOKS

SHORTLY after the First World War the United States went through a period of intense anti-foreign isolationism which eventuated in the Immigration Act of 1924. This act established the rigid and restrictive quota pattern under which we have been operating since. Introducing into our law a racist concept of national origins, it gave large quotas to the Northern and Western European nations, where the pressure to emigrate was slight, and small quotas to the Southern and Eastern countries, where pressure was great. As a result, the Northern and Western quotas have been largely wasted, and European immigration to the United States for the last twenty years has totaled less than one-third of the allowable amount.

Now we have come full cycle again, and current post-war jitters threaten to cause another wave of discrimination and restriction. Unfortunately, little public notice has been given to quietly planned long-range changes which would effectively strangle for many years to come a flow of immigration which only recently was temporarily augmented by hard-won D. P. legislation.

Under the guise of preparing a streamlined and efficient revision and modification of our antiquated immigration laws, Senator Pat McCarran and Representative Francis Walter have presented two practically identical omnibus bills which provide thirteen new grounds for excluding future immigrants, more than twenty new grounds for deporting displaced persons and other immigrants admitted in past years, and a practically undetermined number of new ways of depriving a naturalized American of citizenship. These bills purport to eliminate racial discrimination and to tighten naturalization and denaturalization procedures. Actually, they embody more than a hundred changes which would weaken the rights of immigrants and aliens.

The most blatant hypocrisy of the new bills is their claim to eliminate racial discrimination. They make a gesture in this direction by admitting a sharply limited number of Japanese, Koreans, Indonesians, and Burmese. The Japanese would be given a quota of 185. In addition, all Orientals, many of whom are at present ineligible for naturalization, would be allowed to become American citizens. This would enable 85,000 first-generation Japanese already living in this country to achieve their dream of citizenship.

Though they make this partial concession to racial equality, the bills retain many obsolete and obnoxious discriminations and add a number of new and unwarranted ones. For instance, the retention of the 1920 census figure as a base for determining the rate of immigration perpetuates a discrimination against the Southern and Eastern Europeans, who have contributed the bulk of our immigration in the last thirty years. It is these people who are in dire need of asylum in this country. All their quotas are oversubscribed; some of them are mortgaged into the next century by recent D. P. legislation.

The framers of the Walter-McCarran bills make certain that Orientals will be strictly limited to their quotas by expanding an already enacted racist measure to provide that any immigrant "who is attributable by as much as one-half of his ancestry to a people or peoples indigenous to the Asia-Pacific triangle" is to be charged to the quota of the country of his "ancestry," regardless of his place of birth or citizenship. Total immigration from this group is limited to 2,000 a year. This discriminatory provision, strikingly reminiscent of Hitler's abhorrent Nürnberg laws, was openly fashioned to exclude all but the bare handful of Orientals provided for

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under stringently limited quotas. Under this rule, a citizen of Great Britain, born in that country of a British father and a Chinese mother, would not be admitted to the United States as a member of the British quota of 65,000 but would be shunted to the Chinese quota of 105.

The Walter-McCarran bills go still farther in discriminating against Negroes. Under the present law immigration from colonies and other dependent areas is charged to the quota of the governing country. Citizens of Trinidad, Jamaica, and other West Indian colonies, most of whom are Negroes, at present have relatively free access to the United States. The new bills stipulate that hereafter not more than 100 persons may enter annually from one such colony. This would have the intended effect of reducing Negro immigration from the West Indies by about 90 per cent.

In order further to enlarge the grounds for exclusion, deportation, and denaturalization, the Walter-McCarran bills eliminate the non-quota status of professors. Restrictions are also tightened against the victims of religious persecution, who were formerly granted an exemption from literacy requirements. A similar exception for close relatives of legally admitted aliens and citizens of the United States has also been dropped.

One of the profound ironies of the Walter-McCarran bills is their subversion of certain safeguards against administrative abuse favored by their authors six years ago. Senator McCarran himself hailed the Administrative Procedure Act of 1946, designed by his Senate Judiciary Committee to provide additional judicial checks on possible abuses by administrative officials, as a "widely heralded advance in democratic government."

The Administrative Procedure Act is, in effect, emasculated at many points by the new proposals. Prosecutors, for instance, may also serve as judges in immigration cases. Exclusion or deportation is not based on whether an alien has actually done something wrong but on whether an immigration official is "satisfied" or "has reason to believe" he has. The Attorney General is even empowered to sanction deportation or deprive a resident of his precious citizenship when certain facts appear in his "opinion" to warrant such drastic action.

One of the three liberalizations embodied in the McCarran-Walter bills weakens the absolute bar against the admission of totalitarians set up by McCarran's own Internal Security Act of 1950. Totalitarians actively reformed at least five years prior to their application for admission may come in if their presence here is thought to be "in the public interest." But an alien who at any time after he was admitted to this country has been engaged in a Communist or totalitarian cause, regardless of whether he later acknowledged his mistake and became a valuable member of the American community, must be deported. Finally, the bills would disqualify from citizenship an applicant who had been unlucky enough to belong to a "direct predecessor" of a Communist or totalitarian organization, even one originally democratic in character, from which he later resigned in protest.

At their joint hearings the Walter-McCarran bills met vigorous opposition from representatives of Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish religious groups and of Italian, Czech, and other nationality groups, from the American Bar Association Committee on Aliens and Naturalization, and from other quarters. Some of the more objectionable sections were removed as a result of this criticism; most of them remain.

THE Walter bill was suddenly reported out and scheduled for floor debate two weeks ago. Senators Lehman and Humphrey and Representative Roosevelt, alarmed by Congressional apathy concerning the bill, alerted others. A vigorous effort, headed by Roosevelt in the House, was made to postpone floor debate until Congress could be informed of the widespread organizational opposition to many of the bill's features. As a result, consideration of the bill was postponed. Since then, numerous religious, civic, educational, nationality, and labor groups have urged recommittal so that there may be time to consider thoroughly the more than one hundred amendments being prepared.

In the meantime, a substitute omnibus immigration bill which will almost certainly get Administration support has been introduced by Senators Humphrey and Lehman and Representative Roosevelt. This bill, cosponsored by Senators Benton, Langer, Kilgore, Douglas, McMahon, Green, Pastore, Kefauver, Morse, and Moody, is everything the Walter-McCarran bill is not. It would codify, simplify, and humanize the present law in many ways. It would modernize the quota system by basing quotas on the 1950 instead of on the 1920 census (thus increasing the total quota), and would provide much greater flexibility in the operation of the quota system by allowing for the "pooling" of unused quotas. The previous year's unused quotas would be allocated to immigrants who are relatives of American citizens and of aliens residing here permanently, to those whose services are urgently needed in this country, to victims of religious and racial persecution, and to special-hardship cases. The total flow of immigration would be enlarged by as much as 75,000 each year merely by the intelligent use of the quotas conceived appropriate when our present immigration law was enacted.

Unlike the McCarran-Walter bill, the Humphrey-Lehman-Roosevelt bill actually eliminates all vestiges of racial discrimination. It provides, for instance, for proportional quotas to Japanese, Burmese, Koreans, and other Asiatic groups who at present have no quotas, and also for proportional quotas for such groups as the

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Chinese, who have been limited to approximately 100. The concept of nationality by ancestry instead of by birth is eliminated.

The H-R-L bill provides the protection against administrative abuse absent from the McCarran-Walter bills. Exceptions to exclusion can be based on special circumstance. By relying to a heavy extent on factual grounds for exclusion rather than on the "opinion" of administrative officials, the bill avoids a large area of potential administrative abuse. Its administrative features are a striking improvement over those of the current law.

The H-L-R bill provides a statutory basis for the Board of Immigration Appeals—assuring its freedom from administrative influence in weighing appeals and reviews in deportation cases—establishes a Visa Review Board within the State Department to handle appeals against the decisions of consular officials, and makes the Administrative Procedure Act applicable to deportation cases. All new powers granted to the Attorney General are surrounded by safeguards.

The Ballot Comes to Bhuti

BY JEAN LYON

New Delhi, India

INDIA has recently completed what should go down in history as the world's most strenuous expression of ballot-box democracy. For the first time its entire adult population was eligible to vote. For the first time the people went to the polls and elected a government. The process took four months. Two and a half million ballot boxes were placed within reach of the nearly 180,000,000 potential voters. Prime Minister Nehru traveled more than eighteen thousand miles in his campaigning.

My most vivid experience in the whole long period, during which I followed the proceedings in three different states, was my two-day stay in a mountain village called Bhuti. On the first day Bhuti's two-room schoolhouse was transformed into a polling station—a most original creation, for none of the villagers had ever seen a real station. On the second day some 600 of the 1,200 adults living on the side of the steep mountain on which the Bhuti schoolhouse was perched, in full view of the snow-capped Himalayas, came to the station to vote.

The day of preparation was a mad day. Seven civil servants, most of them under thirty, gathered at the schoolhouse in the chill mountain dawn. They had brought with them one small canvas bag of supplies and twelve ballot boxes with non-tamperable sealing devices. They faced two completely bare schoolrooms —Indian schoolrooms never contain anything but students, for the floor serves as both desks and chairs. The team was headed by a young government veterinary surgeon who when he had received his orders to report at Bhuti had been a hundred miles away treating mountain sheep. He had ridden a mountain pony for four days to get to his assignment. At the schoolhouse that morning he kept thumbing through the pages of the election manual, reading the rules to the local school teachers who were his assistants—five men and a girl.

The most important rule was that the ballot boxes must be behind curtains, so that voting would be secret. But what to use for curtains? Twelve hours later he had not only his curtains but registration desks, polling booths, and a separate entrance and exit. All day long people had trudged up and down the path between the schoolhouse and the village carrying things on their heads. Floor mats had been sewed together with strings for curtains. Ballot boxes were set on planks supported by rocks. The exit had been devised out of the schoolroom's back window, with a Lifebuoy-soap box as the step under the window sill.

That night the polling team spent the night rolled up in blankets on the floor of the new station—all except the girl school teacher who went back with me to the rest house, three miles up the mountain. The boys told us later that their chairman had kept them awake until two in the morning reading the entire election manual to them by the light of a kerosene lamp.

By mid-morning of the next day—Election Day in Bhuti—the steep slope above the schoolhouse was bright with the head scarves of the hill women and the checkered wool shawls of the men. Election posters were pasted on the gray rocks. People gathered in knots around those who felt like expounding their election preferences. Some had brought along their hand spindles and settled down for a long sociable day.

This largely illiterate electorate was anything but lethargic. Some were not quite sure yet how they would vote and went around gathering opinions. Those who voted first took on the job of instructing the others in the intricacies of registration and dropping their ballots into the boxes marked by party symbols. Women received last-minute directions from their menfolk. Self-appointed

JEAN LYON is an American newspaperwoman who has been living in India for several years.

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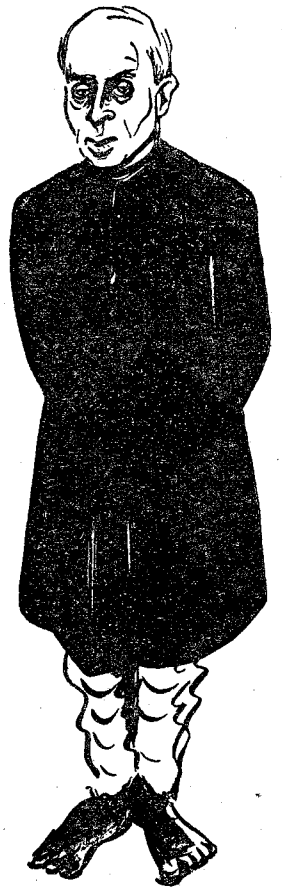
poll watchers loudly reprimanded the three constables for being lax in their duties if anyone strayed into the area around the schoolhouse before it was their turn to vote. The low-caste Kolis, a farm-labor group who until a decade ago were admittedly treated "worse than dogs," were out in full force, both men and women.

That Bhuti had a polling station at all seemed amazing to me after I saw that empty little schoolhouse and the primitive huts in the village. That the people knew enough about the candidates to make a choice seemed even more amazing after I had tramped over the mountainous terrain, where the fastest means of travel was a pony. But what made that Election Day most impressive was knowing that there were thousands of other Bhutis in India and that over 50 per cent of the eligible voters in them cast their ballots. The illiterate peasant of India, the country's heart's blood, had taken part in choosing a government.

IF I was most interested in the long-range educational value of the elections, Indian commentators were concerned rather with the immediate political results. The success of the Communists in the south came as a surprise to Indians for two reasons. First, it had been believed that the Socialists were India's second largest party. While they were known to be weak organizationally, they seemed more unified than the Communists and certainly more firmly established than the new mushroom parties. The second reason was that Nehru had emphasized in his campaign speeches the danger from the right rather than the left. His most spirited attacks had been aimed at the communal parties—right-wing groups formed along religious lines. Neither the Socialists nor the communal parties showed the strength expected, and the Communists with their united fronts, though a small number in the whole picture, have definitely developed into the leading Congress opposition. They are still, however, a numerically small opposition. In the House of the People, the lower house of the Parliament, Communists and their left-wing allies won 27 of the 497 seats, the Socialists coming in third with 12 seats, and the three major Hindu communal parties combined having but 10 seats. The Congress Party remains solidly in control with 363 seats. All the opposition parties together hold but one-fourth of the seats in this main national legislative body.

The picture in the state assemblies is perhaps more telling. In four of the twenty-three state assemblies the Congress Party failed to win a majority, and in a fifth its majority is one. In Travencore-Cochin, where some 70 per cent of the population is literate as against 10 per cent in the rest of India, and in Madras, India's second largest state in both area and population, the Communists have won such substantial blocks of seats that with backing from their allies and some of the independents they could make it impossible for the Congress to form ministries. In Hyderabad, despite the fact that they had been a law-and-order problem there until recently, they won nearly one-fourth of the assembly seats. The results in these three states are generally interpreted as more of a vote against the Congress than a vote for the Communists. But the fact that the people chose the far left rather than one of the more moderate opposition parties, like the Socialists or the new Peasants, Workers, and Peoples Party, which was last year's offshoot from Congress, seems to indicate that they are in a mood for drastic change. A very different phenomenon was the landslide for the landlords' group in Rajasthan, where the Congress won a majority of only one.

The story is nowhere near as simple as it looks in the tabulated results. There were innumerable cross currents, such as the Christian-Hindu feud in Travencore-Cochin, which made people vote for candidates on religious rather than ideological grounds, and the strong caste loyalties in Madras, upon which the Communists reportedly played. A thorough study of the elections in these states might prove some new truths. In Rajasthan, where the peasants are still, in large part, living under a feudal system, they voted for their feudal overlords. In Madras, where at least the top layer of landlords has been eliminated, the land reforms were apparently not far-reaching enough to make the arguments of the Communists lose their appeal.



Nehru

Undoubtedly the elections show widespread dissatisfaction with the Congress government. In an established democratic country the opposition to the party in power could have been larger without indicating so much discontent. This is being viewed with alarm in some quarters and should be. If the government does not recognize the people's discontent and search out the reason for it, the foundation for democratic development in India grows shaky. Abroad, alarm should be diluted with a large dose of respect for the Nehru government, which was willing to risk its one-party control in possibly premature national elections.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

The Fallacies of Spengler

OSWALD SPENGLER. By H. Stuart Hughes. Charles Scribner's Sons. $2.

THE purpose of the Twentieth Century Library is to give the intelligent layman a basic understanding of those thinkers of the last hundred years who have most influenced the intellectual currents of our time. The present volume on Oswald Spengler fulfils this purpose exceedingly well. Destined for the layman and not for the specialist, it is written with ease and clarity; it is a good example of the "popular" presentation of a difficult subject and offers much within its small compass. It is well informed, and the discussion of the relationship between Spengler and the National Socialists is judiciously balanced. For the very reason that the book offers such a thoughtful and sound exposition of Spengler's theories, it should be pointed out that the author, an assistant professor of history at Harvard and associate director of the Russian Research Center there, has been too strongly fascinated by the "profundity" of Spengler's pessimism regarding Western civilization and our times.

Mr. Hughes rightly presents Spengler as a great artist. His "pictorial, figurative language, his talent for finding the images and personalities that set off in high relief an entire epoch of the past—these give to his work a character of excitement, of tension, and of evocative melancholy." But as a thinker Spengler was in no way original, and as a prophet or intuitive seer he was weak or mistaken throughout. He was one of the many intellectuals in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries who hated or feared nineteenth-century Western civilization with its capitalism, parliamentarism, democracy, and big cities, and who looked back with nostalgia to the time before the commercial and industrial revolutions.

Like many German and Russian intellectuals Spengler had no understanding knowledge of the West, especially of England and the United States. Speaking of the future of the United States, he saw before him neither a real nation nor a real state but a boundless field and a population of trappers, drifting from town to town in the dollar hunt, unscrupulous and dissolute. Spengler's estimate shows the same lack of understanding, the same supercilious contempt for the West which Hitler showed in judging and in underestimating America. The parallel goes even farther, and Spengler reveals the same depressing shallowness of historical and political judgment as Hitler—though the literary style, the occasional flash of genius, and the breadth of knowledge put him otherwise high above Hitler. Both believed that Bolshevik Russia "had ceased to be a state" and had fallen prey to a barbarian horde, fundamentally not different from the United States, with its standardized population, its purely economic life without any depth or any true political outlook, its ruling trusts not so different from the Russian state trusts.

Spengler identified Western civilization with what he called the Faustian man, a predominantly romantic and Germanic type, certainly one of the elements of modern civilization, which also includes, however, the classical sense of measure and law and that moderation and compromise which triumphed in the Glorious Revolution. Spengler's sense of a decline of Western civilization had been expressed infinitely better by a long line of more original thinkers, by De Maistre and Donoso Cortès, by Paul de Lagarde and Konstantin Leontiev. There had been a number of minor Germans, well known in their time, as pessimistic as Spengler later was. To mention one among many, Karl Vollgraff, professor of political science in Marburg, answered in 1851 the question how humanity looked in his day with the words "a colossal heap of ruins," and protested in 1831 against the constitution for Hessen as a fraud, because parliamentary democracy could not meet the needs of the time. These prophets of doom were wrong, though their number was great. Even Jacob Burckhardt erred when he predicted that "a definite and supervised stint of misery, with promotions and in uniform, daily begun and ended to the sound of drums," must logically come from modern Western civilization. It came where modern Western civilization was weakest, in Russia, and for a certain time in Germany and Italy; it did not come in Burckhardt's Switzerland or in the English-speaking countries where what Spengler despised most in Western civilization was strongest.

Spengler regarded Mussolini as "a master-man with the southern cunning of the race in him." Unfortunately for him, Mussolini was not a master-man or even one with the cunning of a Franco. Spengler expected the Germans to become the shield against Russia and Asia. His prediction was neither original nor correct. The alliance between Bolshevik Russia and Asia against the West of which Spengler made so much had been openly proclaimed by Lenin. The Germans, whom Spengler jubilantly called the "strong race, the eternal warlike in the type of the beast-of-prey man," did not save Europe from Bolshevism but brought the Russians to Berlin and Vienna. English parliamentary democracy and American democratic industrialism saved the world from the German threat to Western civilization and are now saving it from the similar Russian threat.

Though pessimism seems at present very fashionable, it is hardly justifiable to call Spengler "a loyal son of the West" or to speak of a renewed interest in him. Mr. Hughes calls him more correctly in another place the typical "incompletely educated German intellectual manifesting [toward the West] as uncritical a series of prejudices as any lower-middle-class German." Spengler's "state of mind of an old society anticipating its end" does not offer a key to our times. All his essential predictions have failed to materialize. Nor does the world at present, at least in the West, point to cultural sterility and dictatorship, as the modern Spenglerian seems to believe. Brooks Adams predicted in 1896 a similar decay: "No poetry can bloom in the arid modern soil, the drama has died, and the patrons of art are no longer even conscious of shame

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at profaning the most sacred of ideals." But the arts are today certainly not more neglected or sterile than they were in 1890. Spengler and the Spenglerians underestimated the vitality of Western civilization and society. HANS KOHN

Truman's Self-Portrait

MR. PRESIDENT. By William Hillman. Pictures by Alfred Wagg. Farrar, Straus and Young. $5.

LIKE Harry S. Truman, this is a wonderful human document. It is not really a book by Hillman so much as a newspaperman's dream realized, a publisher's delight, a journalistic beat of stupendous proportions. The President of the United States writing and talking about himself, his inner feelings, his private attitude toward present and former associates (most of them still living and able to talk back), some of his problems and decisions. What more could the happy, happy collaborators ask this side of River Jordan?

As might have been expected, Truman emerges in these pages as a devoted, patriotic, earnest, hardworking President. But the record shows a man of much broader dimensions than used to be assumed: he is well grounded in history and the classics, an astute observer of the human scene, a man who has enormous respect for his office—the Presidency, not the individual picked by fate to fill it. He is a lonely man—as lonely as Lincoln—and sometimes for the same reasons: people don't call him an "ape" and a "baboon," as they did Lincoln, but plenty of them think they know more about running the President's job than "little" Harry, and occasionally they find themselves suddenly on the outside looking in. Unlike the Lincolns, however, the Trumans have an extraordinarily happy family life.

There are some great gaps in the section devoted to Truman's diaries. From September, 1948, to March, 1949—the whole period covered by the campaign, the election, and the inauguration—there is not a line. So we do not know what he may have written about a Senator like Olin Johnston of South Carolina, who fought the President's reelection but pushed into the front rank of those who "greeted" him on his triumphal post-election return from Independence. We don't see the National Security Council at work, the Cabinet in operation, the Central Intelligence Agency making its reports. These are the private papers and comments of Harry Truman, not the public ones, and not all the private papers are available.

We get a glimpse of the President's attitude toward his subordinates. When he appoints a man to a quasi-judicial agency he then forgets about it: he expects the man to do good work or he would not have appointed him. Was he privately dismayed when Mon C. Wallgren demoralized the Federal Power Commission? Does he yet have any idea of his failure in four Supreme Court appointments, in which Roosevelt's liberalization of the court was undone? If so, nothing in the record as set forth by Hillman indicates it.

Yet there is enough to make a first-hand document that is fascinating both because of its revelations of Truman the man and its glimpses into the office of the Presidency. The man is enjoying his job now, even though conscious of its burdens. He could write during the Berlin blockade and just after the Chinese entered the Korean war that he feared we were close to all-out conflict, and write it simply as a fact, not something to keep him awake nights, because he honestly believed he had done everything possible to prevent war. There are other examples of raw courage; and anecdotes about how he learned the folk habits of our democracy.

Will he run again? Is it conceivable that after making more enemies by his candid comments he will try for the Democratic nomination? The answer is probably a qualified no. One suspects that when he began his interviews with Hillman he had every intention of retiring after his term. Whether he has now been persuaded that he must "save" his policy is a different question. If he gets mule-headed about this he can be a tough customer even for such other tough customers as Byrd, George, Taft, and his whole assortment of bipartisan enemies. He is not easily scared. He was troubled but not scared even when he had difficulty in 1946 with both Jimmy Byrnes and Henry Wallace, to say nothing of Harold Ickes. The best guess is that he will still feel that he has done whatever he could and step aside for new party leadership; but if he should decide to run, the book would not hurt him, despite the anger it must arouse. In the decisive Northern and Western states more people distrust Byrnes, really, than distrust Truman, and the President's homely touch, which shines through the book, would have its effect. WILLARD SHELTON

Dos Passos: The Second Trilogy

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA. By John Dos Passos. Houghton Mifflin Company. $5.

IN THIS newly assembled trilogy—the individual volumes appeared in the decade from 1939 to 1949—Dos Passos continues the savage assaults on American life he began so memorably in "U. S. A." But where in the earlier trilogy his target was nothing less than our whole moneyed society in the first thirty years of the century, here it has shrunk to certain aspects of our political life during the 1930's and '40's. And where then his orientation was radical if not actually Marxist, it has now, during the course of his own personal evolution from left to right, altered to an extreme conservatism which looks upon almost every kind of government activity as wasteful or wicked.

What makes these later novels less exciting and effective than the earlier ones is their occasionally querulous tone, a sharp recession in the reality of their characters, a contraction of outlook on Dos Passos's part. His attack upon the Communists in the first novel, "Adventures of a Young Man," is perfectly valid factually and historically, but it suffers from the incredible naivete of its hero, Glenn Spottswood, and a tendency to project the dense jungle of leftist politics in the oversimplified terms characteristic of the proletarian novel so fashionable in the thirties, when this story was first published. The second volume, "Number One," is equally unimpeachable on grounds of fact. Its target is machine politics and the political boss, and again the impact of Dos Passos's fictional version of Huey Long is watered down by the character of the narrator, Tyler Spottswood, who is chronically drunk for reasons never explained and swamps

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the book in a tedious procession of binges and hangovers. The concluding novel, "The Grand Design," attacks the New Deal for having reneged on its idealistic promises and corrupted the American dream by undermining the old traditions of self-reliance and individual initiative. Of its visible accomplishments there is scarcely a word, and Roosevelt, who never appears directly, is referred to in almost constantly sneering terms.

One emerges from the trilogy with a growing feeling of hopelessness. There seems no room in Dos Passos's world for men of good-will, who are murdered like Glenn, take refuge in drink like Tyler or in suicide like Georgia Washburn—whose death, though she is a minor figure, moves us more than Glenn's—or in the chagrined and disillusioned withdrawal from Washington of Paul Graves and Millard Carroll, who had come there originally under the New Deal spell. The Rousseauist theory of the good individual born into a corrupt universe, which animated Dos Passos's fiction from the beginning, has contracted here into a grinding pessimism that lowers the vitality of the writing even when its documentation is most accurate.

Yet the reader is seldom allowed to forget that he is in the presence of one of the powerful and significant novelists of contemporary American literature. There are scenes and writing here that rank with the best things in "The 42nd Parallel" and "The Big Money." Glenn Spottswood, that excessively ingenuous and victimized young man, organizes the coal miners in a remote mountain area of West Virginia. Their lives, grimy habitations, and intensely poignant reactions to a desperate situation are narrated with a bold and resourceful hand. Some of the bombastically ingenious speeches and sinister vulgarities of Chuck Crawford, the political boss, are unreeled with a grimly comical effect, though Chuck himself has been overshadowed by the far more complex and convincing figure of Willie Stark in Robert Penn Warren's "All the King's Men." The travels of Paul Graves, the non-political agricultural scientist who wants to make the corn grow better, among the farms of Alabama and Nebraska give Dos Passos a characteristic opportunity to practice his superb talent for recreating the concrete place. These and other vivid passages survive the arid stretches, factionalist involvements, and niggling defeatism of "District of Columbia." They remind us that though Dos Passos is not at his best here, he retains the power to arouse and persuade.

But the energy and technical ingenuity of "U. S. A." have abated. The drift and flow of American life that once caught up the Dos Passos characters in an irresistible stream, and filled the reader with a sense of exhilaration even when the seamiest aspects of the industrial age were being exposed, have been replaced by narrower channels and a slower movement. The vitality, the exhilaration are no longer so pronounced. The vigorous, rough-textured style has grown gritty and monotonous. And in place of Mac, Charley Anderson, and J. Ward Moorehouse, we have the Spottswoods, father and sons, the most spectacularly uninteresting family in recent fiction.

The closely knit structure, descriptive power, deep feeling for country are still plain in Dos Passos, but this second trilogy is a weaker, smaller achievement than the first. LEO GURKO

Deathless Salesman

DUVEEN. By S. N. Behrman. Random House. $3.50.

SAUL STEINBERG'S jacket design for this book makes any other preface unnecessary. Four differently shaped portholes frame identical icons of the Lord Duveen of Millbank. The Man of Distinction, in quadruplicate. While Duveen was not quite in the class of the Pharaoh Khephren, with his twenty-odd portrait statues in his temple at Gizeh, Steinberg, invoking the same theory of salvation by multiplication, confers on him a sort of Oriental immortality.

Ordinarily a reviewer's first task is to indicate the contents of the book at hand. In the present instance it is perhaps sufficient to report that the six essays on Duveen which appeared in the *New Yorker* last fall are now available as a single item, illuminated, in the medieval sense, by Steinberg's drawings. As nearly everybody has read these essays, this review will be limited to some marginal comments.

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pace and impersonal slant of other *New Yorker* profiles, with the authorship effectively submerged, one may still speculate about Behrman's intentions. Is he playing "the most spectacular art dealer of all time" dead-pan or straight? He has managed to embalm an age with a collection of anecdotes, an age which lost a prime force when Duveen died thirteen years ago. He is largely content to let the picture he has drawn speak for itself. Each suggestion of a sly leer is countered by a hint of hero-worship. With personality looming so large in Duveen's story, such hero-worship is not altogether unjustified. Nevertheless, somebody ought to protest when manipulation is lent enchantment and vulgarity is glamourized into something nostalgic. Veblen, where is thy sting?

Unless I have misunderstood the reference, one of the anecdotes contains an error in fact. It relates how Bernard Berenson, the hero of the essay called "B. B.," met an old friend, a German, who is described as the director of the Dresden Museum before the war. "He returned to resume his former post," Berenson says, "but the Russians came and carted everything off—all the most beautiful things. . . . What made my friend cry was not alone that they took the things off but that *they were so badly crated!*"

The error of this tale is in the first part, not the second. The man who was the director of the Dresden Museum before the war—in fact, since 1910—died during the war. In 1939 Hitler had added to his duties the task of forming a major collection of art for presentation to the city of Linz, which was due for some cultural expansion because Hitler had spent his boyhood there. The manner of the collecting for Linz was not always nice. A successor appointed in the spring of 1943 inherited his techniques of acquisition. The new appointee, who is still alive, is not the present director of the Dresden Museum; nor has he returned to Dresden since the war. He sincerely mourns Dresden's lost treasure, but he filled in the late war years the highest art position the Nazis could confer. I should doubt very much that this is the friend Berenson referred to.

The most remarkable of the six essays, it seems to me, is the one that is primarily about Berenson. But Behrman has fully developed the contrast in personality that the strange association of Duveen and B. B. affords. That it did not collapse sooner is perhaps the most surprising thing of all. In this improbable combination of commerce and culture, the balance of immortality swings sharply in B. B.'s favor. The most exquisite sensibility of our day triumphs over the world's most deathless salesman.

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Drama

MARGARET MARSHALL

"FLIGHT INTO EGYPT" (Music Box Theater) has two themes—which is one too many for a play. What is even more of a hazard, dramatically speaking, both themes are valid and timely; and each is completely at cross-purposes with the other. It is as if the scripts of two plays had got entangled, and even so skilful a director as Elia Kazan cannot produce a unified or forceful effect from such disparate materials.

The play depicts the decisive day in the lives of three Austrians, a man and his wife and child, who have been trying for two years to get to America. They have moved from city to city and have finally reached Cairo, where they hope—one does not know quite why—to obtain from the American consul the precious permits which all the other American consuls have refused. The man (Paul Lukas) is confined to a wheel chair as a result of a wound sustained when an American bomb fell into a Nazi concentration camp where he was confined. So far, so good. We are ready to grant that he should be allowed to go to America; we are convinced that his devoted and capable wife Lili (Gusti Huber) is perfectly able to support the family; and we are all set to be angry if the visas are refused.

But suddenly another Austrian appears on the scene. He is a likable young man who has come to Cairo to buy cotton; he believes that Austria has a future and persuades Lili that the place for Austrians like herself is—Austria. He persuades us too, since we are favorably disposed toward Austria these days; but the immediate effect of this quite new theme is to dilute our sympathy for the crippled husband and to nip in the bud our first fine interest in the fight for visas. We now see the husband's desire to escape as selfish and his exploitation of his wife as cruel; and we find ourselves thinking that it might be just as well after all if the visas were *not* granted. Which is a queer position to have arrived at, given the first scenes of the play.

The resolution of this curious state of affairs is perhaps the best that could be devised. The husband is told by his own doctor that he will die soon anyhow—he has been refused a visa on the same ground—and thereupon commits suicide. The wife and child, though they get their visas, decide to return to Vienna and make a new start, presumably with the aid and comfort of the young Austrian.

The scene is a run-down Cairo hotel, which allows for the usual hotel routine, not to mention the hot-country routine, of types and episodes. The setting, by Jo Mielziner, is very effective; the routines are less so.

Paul Lukas as the husband does very well what little he has to do, though his big scene comes after the "other play" has taken over and the sympathy of the spectator has been diverted.

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On balance, the principal merit of "Flight into Egypt" is that it introduces the Viennese actress, Gusti Huber. Her role as the wife—complaining, desperate, hysterical by turns—is a rather thankless one, but she has the skill to keep it from becoming monotonous and to make it sympathetic throughout in spite of the shifts of theme. She gives the impression of knowing her business very well and it would be interesting to see her in a part that gave her more range.

The adjective "old-fashioned" comes to mind in connection with "One Bright Day" (Royale Theater) because it shows the president of a drug company wrestling with a problem in ethics having to do with the quality of the product he manufactures. But the problem is real—and no doubt problems of the same sort come up every day in the week. They are old-fashioned only in the sense that they are no longer fashionable as subjects, having been displaced by the kind of problems posed in "Flight Into Egypt" or Marquand's "Point of No Return." The ending is particularly unfashionable; the president—and capitalist—does the right thing. The play is a well-made play—it is also well acted—and the first two acts have more reality than "Point of No Return." But though the resolution itself is convincing enough, the third act is more complicated and longer drawn out than it need be.

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

IT WAS not only the voluminous luster and splendor of Flagstad's voice from the lowest to the highest notes of its range that was so amazing at her first appearance here seventeen years ago; it was also her way of singing—of deploying the voice in a long phrase in which it rose without effort to a powerful and securely held high note and went on from this, in thrilling fashion, to another and still another before descending to complete the phrase, all as though breath were not even involved. The years since then have taken the luster from the upper range of the voice; but they haven't changed the way of singing: in the second performance of Gluck's "Alceste" at the Metropolitan, as on other recent occasions, Flagstad began with her lower notes characteristically voluminous and lustrous, her upper ones thin, edged, and tremulously shrill, until the *Divinités du Styx* at the end of the first act—the first of the occasions when the voice began one of those remarkable sustained phrases which it carried to an exciting climax in a succession of secure, clear, and increasingly powerful high notes, and having done this once did it immediately a second time. There were some in the audience who knew what the voice had lost of its earlier beauty; but anyone who heard it now for the first time and without that knowledge—who heard the lustrous lower notes, the clear and powerful high notes in the sustained phrases so exquisitely and touchingly inflected by musical taste and feeling—would say what he heard was phenomenal. It would be considered phenomenal if it were the singing of a young person; it would have been pronounced phenomenal if it had been Flagstad's singing at her first appearances here at the age of forty-two; and it is even more phenomenal as the performance of a woman of fifty-nine, who ends her career still the greatest vocal artist of our day.

It was an act of intelligence, taste, and courage for Mr. Bing to make the last manifestation of Flagstad's art at the Metropolitan her singing of Alceste's music rather than Brünnhilde's. And whereas the splendor of that art was first revealed here in the shabby performances of the end of the Gatti-Casazza era, this last time everything was done to present it in surroundings worthy of it—a performance bright, clean, carefully put together, and precisely executed. In fact too much was done: Dr. Graf wasn't content with making the chorus expressively active, but had dancers underline the singing with plastic movement; and whatever might be said of the idea of this innovation, the actual movements which looked like a take-off on goings-on in a class in modern dance at a girls' college did not heighten the solemnity of the scenes. And I would say the same of the ballet that Mr. Solov devised for the last scene.

I saw no point last year in giving "Alceste" in an English translation which wouldn't be heard sufficiently in the Metropolitan; and one thing to say about the performance is that I was in fact able to hear almost none of the words of the chorus and only a few of those enunciated so clearly and well by Flagstad and Sullivan—enough to give me a general idea of the action but not the moment-to-moment detail which the English translation was supposed to give. But another thing to say after the performance is that I see no point in giving an opera in English so that it may be understood, and then assigning to it singers like Schöffler and Pernerstorfer whose German accents make their English a foreign language nobody could understand.

The translator of "Alceste," Mr. John Gutman of Mr. Bing's staff, began a publicity article about his translation by declaring opera in English to be something to be accepted here as "Carmen" in German is accepted in Vienna. But "Carmen" in German is a monstrosity; and the fact that such monstrosities are accepted in Vienna is no reason for introducing them here, where—whatever else may have been wrong with opera at the Metropolitan before Mr. Bing took over—one thing that was right was that for the most part the works were given in their original languages. This practice began when the Metropolitan's singers were mostly foreigners; but the fact that they now include many Americans is no reason why it shouldn't continue. As between opera in the original Italian or French pronounced with slight defects by Americans, and opera in an English mangled beyond recognition by foreigners, I would choose the first.

My ear catches an occasional defect in Albanese's Russian; but this doesn't

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diminish the pleasure of hearing that language with the music of the Letter Scene from Tchaikovsky's "Eugene Onegin," which she has recorded for RCA Victor with an orchestra directed by Stokowski; and the language is one of the points of superiority of this performance over the one previously issued by Columbia, in which Welitch sings in German. The other points of superiority are musical—the intensity and passion of Albanese's singing, the cohesive tension of Stokowski's performance of the orchestral part, as against singing by Welitch and playing by the Philharmonia Orchestra under Süsskind that are almost perfunctory. In addition the recorded sound of the Victor performance is far more beautiful, though it becomes afflicted with high-frequency distortion as it approaches the end of the side. On the same LP record is the Villa-Lobos Bachianas Brasileiras No. 5.

Purcell's "Dido and Aeneas" is performed on a Period record by Eleanor Houston (Dido), Adele Leigh (Belinda), and Henry Cummings (Aeneas), among others, with the Stuart Chamber Orchestra and Chorus directed by Jackson Gregory. Miss Leigh's soprano is the most beautiful; Miss Houston's acquires in *When I am laid in earth* some of the sensuous warmth it lacks earlier; Mr. Cummings's baritone is rough. The performance is excellent; its recorded sound is not always clean, and wavers in pitch on the first side.

Several excerpts from Purcell's "The Fairy Queen," including the fine soprano arias *O let me ever, ever weep* and *Hark! hark! the ech'ing air a triumph sings*, and several from "The Masque in Timon of Athens" are on an Oiseau Lyre LP, beautifully sung by Margaret Ritchie and played by an instrumental group under Anthony Lewis. The recorded sound of the instrumental portions is ear-piercing and often enveloped in a hash of distortion.

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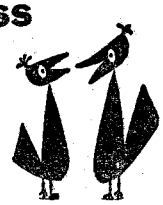

Record Notes

BY ROBERT E. GARIS

J. C. Bach: Piano Sonatas: Opus 5, Nos. 5 and 6; Opus 17, No. 6; Tolson (WCFM); music uninteresting; performance unexciting.

J. S. Bach: Selections from the Anna Magdalena Book: Rapf and Weis-Osborn (Bach Guild); minor harpsichord pieces by Bach and others, six fine Bach songs; harpsichord playing fair, singing very beautiful except for some uncertainties of pitch.

Music of Jubilee; Biggs with Columbia Chamber Orchestra under Burgin (Columbia); a selection of familiar chorale preludes and movements from Cantatas; performance fair, with occasionally vulgar brass playing.

Suites No. 2 and 6 for viola; Lillian Fuchs (Decca); the familiar suites usually played on the cello; performance rhythmically heavy, lacks ease; recording a bit cavernous.

Bartok: Viola Concerto; Primrose and the New Symphony Orchestra of London under Serly (Bartok); Serly's realization of Bartok's sketches—some effective moments in a generally scrappy piece; performance good.

Beethoven: Piano Sonatas, Opus 27, No. 2 ("Moonlight") and Opus 81a ("Les Adieux"); Serkin (Columbia); good performance, except for occasional over-excited distortions; noisy surfaces.

Trios, Opus 70, No. 1 ("Geister") and Opus 1, No. 2; Boston Trio (Allegro); performance good; recording very bad; noisy surfaces.

Brahms: Sonata No. 3 for piano; Rubinstein (Victor); good performance; piano sound lacks body.

Chopin: Preludes; Brailowsky (Victor); poor performance.

Debussy: First Rhapsody for clarinet and piano; Kell and Rosen (Decca); poor performance; recording cavernous and muffled.

Hindemith: Sonata for clarinet and piano; Kell and Rosen (Decca); pleasant inventive music; slouchy and mannered performance by Kell, good one by Rosen; recording cavernous.

Mozart: Organ Sonatas, K. 67, 68, 69, 212, 225, 329; Messner with the Salzburg Mozarteum Orchestra under Paul Walter (Period); pretty uninteresting music except for some charming things in the last two; performance fair; recording brash, badly balanced.

Stravinsky: Three pieces for clarinet solo; Kell (Decca); pleasant, unimportant music; good performance, recording cavernous and blurred.

Wagner: "Tannhäuser"; Seider, Scheck, Paul, etc., with Munich State Opera Chorus and Orchestra under Heger (Urania); chorus and orchestra acceptable, singing very bad.

Landowska plays for Paderewski (Victor); engaging arrangements of Polish folk music by Couperin, Rameau, Landowska, and others; performance effective, occasionally over-effective.

The Italian Madrigal: a collection of music by Landini, Banchieri, Palestrina and others; Vassar Madrigal Singers under Geer (Allegro); what may be beautiful music made to sound uninteresting in this poor performance; recording blurred.

CONTRIBUTORS

HANS KOHN, professor of history at the City College of New York, will publish this spring "Panslavism, Its History and Ideology."

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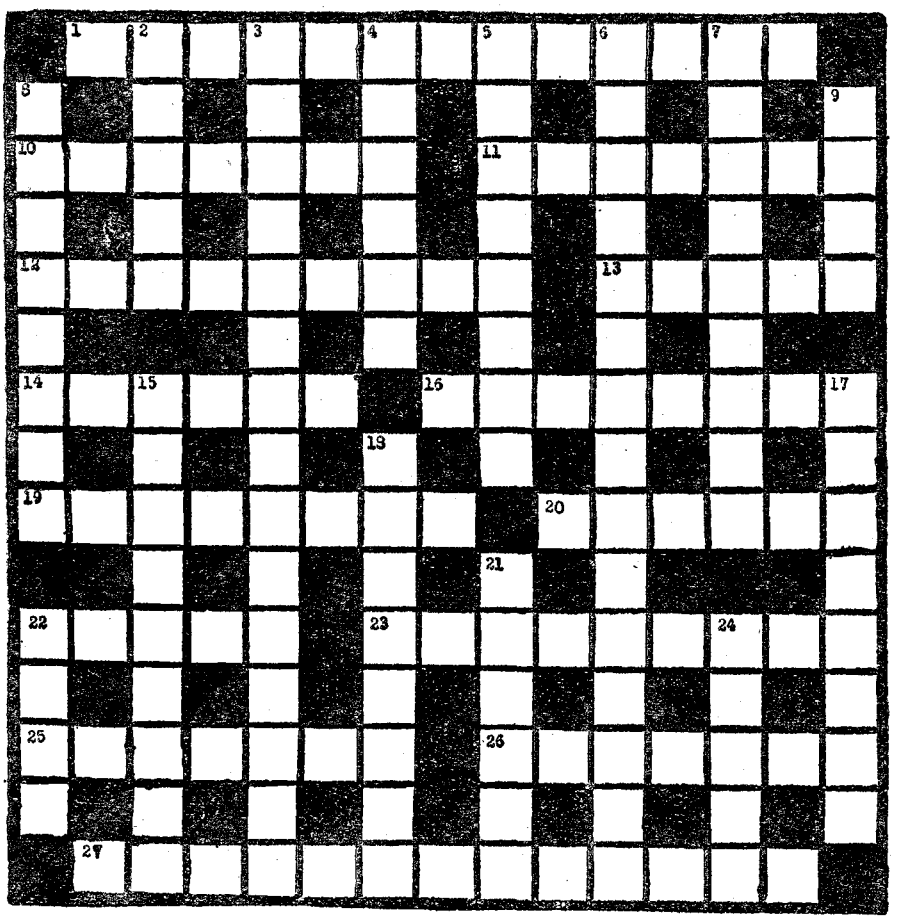
Crossword Puzzle No. 458

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 The Vampire starts off with the unusual wealth of a rose. (1, 4, 5, 3)
10 Lessons and lectures do, to scare one. (7)
11 Made a mistake with a Churchillian sign, it is said. (7)
12 Brawling target man. (9)
13 One of those things that fill cavities in some joints. (5)
14 Little more than a strong man, finally. (2, 4)
16 A joiner, but not the kind Snug was. (8)
19 One of the things girls are pledged to. (8)
20 Those who hold it in the service usually follow the air line. (6)
22 The way of the chase might be familiar to inexperienced huntsmen. (5)
23 Making things easier, but finally getting old. (9)
25 It feeds by night; but if you do, some say life goes on in part. (7)
26 Have a go at it? Certainly not like 15! (7)
27 Jots and tittles? In case of help, it's six of one and half half-a-dozen of the other! (4, 3, 6)

DOWN

2 Bent light, by the sound of it. (5)
3 See 4.
4, 3, 21. Implying the "Street of Thieves" is well-paved? (3, 3, 2, 13, 2, 4)
5 Difficult; perhaps, but formerly associated (at least in part) with play? (8)
6 Science makes the deer most cynical. (15)
7 Take drug, and in real bad condition you'll get beat faster! (9)
8 You might put an end to smoke in one of them. (8)
9 This god makes nothing but noise finally. (4)
15 Unlike 7, this might imply a relatively slow beat. (9)
17 Paine's was to do good. (8)
18 A broken arm wants a perjured witness to set it. (5, 3)
21 See 4 down.
22 Bow with a roguish appearance. (4)
24 When someone like Lafitte doesn't have a soft spot he's just plain angry! (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 457

ACROSS:—5 PULSATE; 9 UPEND; 10 STOCKYARD; 11 KISS; 12 SALAMANDER; 14 STEP IN; 15 DENOUNCE; 17 NUT SHELL; 19 MANTIS; 22, 23, 6, 1 across HELL HATH NO FURY LIKE A WOMAN SCORNED; 26 TREMULOUS; 27 ANTIC; 28 CUTTERS; 29 ENTREAT.

DOWN:—1 SHUCK; 2 OVERSEE; 3 NODE; 4 DISBAR; 5 PROBATES; 7 ABANDON; 8 ENDORSERS; 13 LIGHTHOUSE; 14 SYNTHETIC; 16 FLATTOPS; 18 TALLEST; 20 TRUSTEE; 24 YACHT; 25 and 21 WAIT AND SEE.

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